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LENIN'S THEORY ON PEACE AND WAR

- China -

by Hu Hsi-Huei

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[Following is a translation of an article by Hu Hsi-Huei
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Peiping, 25 April 1960, page 7.]

Ever since mankind entered the stage of class society, the question of peace and war was a major question in man's political activity. Prior to the complete elimination of capitalist imperialism on the world scene, the alternation between war and peace is a regular and inevitable phenomenon. Lenin took a firm Marxist stand, analyzed the source and essence of wars, defined the relationship between war, peace, and revolution, and with the attitude toward peace and war of a Marxist, exposed the fraud of imperialism on the question of war and peace, criticized the reactionary slanders of social chauvinists and social pacifists, defended and developed Marxist theory on the question of peace and war, and made a tremendous contribution to the cause of international proletarian revolution.

The imperialist system is the root cause of war in modern times. The question of peace and war is still a basic question in the realm of international political life and the struggle for the defense of world peace, the struggle to gain permanent world peace, is a major political task now confronting the people of the whole world. In commemorating the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, the study of his theory on the question of peace and war has a great practical significance.

Imperialism is the Source of War. Resolutely Oppose Unjust Wars and Support Just Wars.

Lenin taught us that with regard to any question or thing we always must carry out a concrete analysis, using the viewpoint of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. We must also proceed in this way with regard to the question of peace and war. Following the outbreak of World War I, a crucial question facing the proletariat and its political party was how to treat this war. In criticizing the opportunist leadership of the Second International, Lenin pointed out that in order to determine correctly the attitude to adopt toward the war, it was necessary first to comprehend clearly the factors giving rise to war and the essence of war. War is not an innate phenomenon of human society; it is a product of the system of private ownership of the means of production and the division of society

into antagonistic classes. Under the original communal system, there was no class and no state, no exploitation or oppression of man by man, nor was there any war. In class society, the outbreak of wars is inevitable as a result of various kinds of antagonistic contradictions. As capitalism develops to the stage of imperialism, the various contradictions inherent in capitalism become extreme and, as an inevitable result, different kinds of war are initiated; that is, imperialist wars, wars of national liberation, and revolutionary civil wars.

Lenin not only proclaimed that imperialist wars, wars of national liberation, and revolutionary civil wars were inevitable, but also predicted that under circumstance when socialism will be victorious in one or several countries, various countries in the world under moribund capitalism inevitably will adopt various methods to eliminate the newly born socialist state and therefore there may occur a war for the defense of the socialist fatherland. The war for the defense of the Soviet fatherland instigated by the armed intervention of the imperialist powers is the first and most outstanding example of a war of this kind.

It is clear from this that in the era of imperialism, the system of imperialism is the source of war. Moreover, not only will the struggle for colonies and markets among imperialists inevitably give rise to wars between them, but there will also be wars of national liberation, revolutionary civil wars, and wars for the defense of the socialist fatherland arising from the plunder and oppression of the colonies and protectorates and of the domestic and international proletariat as well as the working masses. Back in 1905, Lenin stated that, "War at any time or any place is always instigated by the exploiters, the rulers, and the oppressor class." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume VIII, page 531). The history of wars incontrovertibly attest to this truth.

So long as imperialism exists, various kinds of war inevitably will occur. However, inasmuch as wars vary in their nature, it is necessary to carry the analysis a step further. In Lenin's analysis and argument, there are wars of two characters and natures: just and unjust wars. Lenin pointed out that all wars are a continuation of policy by another means (that is, violence). In order to understand the nature of war, therefore, it is necessary to study the overall pre-war policy of the class carrying out the war from the aspect of the relationship between economics and politics, to see for what aim and by what class the war is being waged, and to see what policy the war is carrying out. Examining the above mentioned kinds of wars from this viewpoint, we can see that: wars of national liberation are a continuation of the policy by which the people in colonies and protectorates oppose national oppression and seize national independence; revolutionary civil wars in which the proletariat opposes the bourgeoisie and wars for the defense of the socialist fatherland are a continuation of the socialist revolutionary movement, a continuation

of the policy of proletarian revolution. These wars are carried out by the revolutionary, progressive class and they promote the development of society. They are therefore all just wars. Imperialist wars are a continuation of the policy of the plunder, by moribund capitalism, of colonies, the oppression of other nations, and the suppression of the workers' movement; these wars are carried out by the reactionary classes, they block the development of society. They are therefore unjust and reactionary wars. Because wars are different in their nature, Marxists absolutely cannot unconditionally oppose all wars; they must resolutely support just wars and oppose unjust wars.

Lenin pointed out that imperialist wars are an inevitable product of the capitalist system of private ownership, and if this system of ownership is not eliminated, it will be impossible to end wars and attain a real peace. It is necessary therefore that the struggle against imperialist wars and for peace be linked with the cause of proletarian revolution.

Early, in August 1907, at the Seventh Congress of the Second International held in Stuttgart, Lenin pointed out that the objective conditions for the proletarian revolution were already ripe and that only the proletarian revolution will be able to eliminate imperialism. Therefore, there should be no "substitution of peace for war, but rather a substitution of socialism for capitalism;" there should be a "utilization of the crisis created by war to hasten the overthrow of the bourgeoisie." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XIII, page 64).

Following the outbreak of World War I, in opposition to the renegade activities of the leaders of the Second International, Lenin used the viewpoint of class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as well as the viewpoint of preparing, propagandizing, and promoting the world proletarian revolution to formulate the strategic line of turning the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war. The Bolshevik party, under Lenin's leadership, resolutely grasped and carried out this revolutionary line and smashed opportunism in its own ranks which had opposed the line, so that the weakest link in the imperialist front was broken in Russia and the victory of the mighty October Socialist Revolution was achieved on one-sixth of the world's surface.

Lenin acknowledged that without revolutionary circumstances there can be no revolution, but he said that in addition to preparing revolutionary circumstances, it is also necessary to prepare the subjective conditions for revolution. Accordingly, Lenin stated, when preparing revolutionary circumstances "the most fundamental task from which no members of the socialist party can recoil is to demonstrate the existence of revolutionary circumstances to the masses, to elucidate the extensiveness and depth of revolutionary circumstances, to summon the revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary determination of the proletariat, to assist the proletariat in adopting revolutionary actions, and to establish an organization appropriate to these revolutionary circumstances to carry out this work." (Collective Works of Lenin, Volume XXI, page 193).

Marxists must educate and organize the masses in order to prepare for and realize the socialist revolution. Otherwise, there can be no end to wars nor can a real peace be attained. This is not to say, however, that Marxists can neglect the demand of the masses for peace. Lenin pointed out that the spontaneous sentiment of the masses in longing for peace frequently marks the beginning of their protest and indignation against, and their knowledge of, imperialist wars. This sentiment demonstrates that they have already begun to take a stand against the ruling class on the question of war and peace. However, they do not yet have a basic comprehension of their stand against the ruling class and do not yet have a clear revolutionary consciousness. Lenin held, therefore, that Marxists should give full attention to the sentiments of the masses in longing for peace and should constantly, resolutely, and with unremitting effort enlighten them, making them understand that it will be only by means of a revolutionary overthrow of the ruling bourgeoisie that peace can be attained and guiding them along the road of conscious revolution.

Lenin mercilessly exposed talk of "peace" among the imperialists and social-pacifists of the Second International in order to support the revolutionary line of the proletariat and to link the struggle of the popular masses against war and for peace with the cause of the proletarian revolution.

Imperialism is the ringleader in wars. However, under certain conditions and for a definite goal, imperialism also promotes "peace." In the period when preparations were being made for World War I, the imperialists brought forth the slogan "for peace" as a cunning means of cloaking their evil intention of arms expansion and war preparation. In exposing this cheating and trickery of imperialism, Lenin pointed out, "Do not trust empty words; it is best to see to whose advantage they are being used!" "Those self-designated 'civilized' countries are now engaged in a wild obstacle-race in carrying out military preparations. In thousands of newspapers, from thousands of pulpits, using a thousand tunes to acclaim and to shout for patriotism, culture, fatherland, peace, progress, and so on; -- all this is by way of finding reasons for spending tens and hundreds of millions of rubles on various types of armament for killing men, cannon, and "Dreadnoughts" (the newest type of warships), etc." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XIX, page 33). Following the outbreak of the big war and at a time when moribund capitalism and its governments, which were locked in battle, raised a hue and cry for war, certain very rich men put on the face of the philanthropist and again made a display of hoping for "peace." Lenin exposed the real face of these bourgeois philanthropists, pointing out that their propaganda for peace was damaging the prospects for a protracted war being turned into revolution and that this hope for a quick peace was being used to stifle the revolutionary spirit of the masses which was not yet fully matured. When the war had been in progress for two and one-half years, the governments of the belligerent powers sang out that they "prefer peace" and advocated the conclusion of a "democratic peace treaty." Moreover, President Wilson of the

United States sent a written proposal to the belligerent powers suggesting arbitration of the conflict." Lenin pointed out that this mouthing of peace by imperialism did not in the least stem from any "preference for peace" because of any "lofty humanitarian sentiments," but because of a change in the relative power relationships. He said, "War is the continuation of policy which prevailed under peace, and peace is the continuation of policy which prevailed during war." "Even the current peace, under conditions in which the bourgeois governments have not yet been overthrown by revolution, is merely an imperialist peace that continues to carry out the imperialist war." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXIII, page 194).

It is clear therefore that an imperialist peace serves the interests of imperialism and, regardless of the tall-talk of imperialism about peace, it cannot change in the least the basic nature of the aggressive and oppressive policies of imperialism. Therefore, Lenin pointed out that, "It is the clear and obvious task of any genuine socialist policy and any truly proletarian policy (needless to say, a consciously Marxist policy) first and foremost to thoroughly, constantly, courageously, and radically expose the fraudulence of pacifism and democracy of the governments and of the bourgeoisie in various countries." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXIII, page 211).

Under circumstances created by the imperialist war which are favorable for the overthrow of bourgeois rule by the proletariat using revolutionary methods, the imperialist bourgeoisie impairs the proletarian revolution and, in addition to using violent suppression and fabricated "peace" slogans to cheat the masses, without pity and on the basis of moribund high profits, spends a little amount to buy out the worker-aristocrats, and utilizes them to smash the proletarian revolution from within. Social chauvinists and social pacifists yield to imperialist pressure and become slaves bought out by imperialism for scraps of left-over food. Lenin said, "The imperialist bourgeoisie needs these two kinds, or so to speak, two styles, of slaves: they need Plekhanov and his slogan "down with the aggressors" to spur the masses on to continue the slaughtering and they also need Kautsky and his song of peace sung slowly to lull and soothe the resentful and seething masses." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXIII, page 273).

Kautsky denied that imperialism was the highest stage of capitalism and said that it was a policy which finance capital "preferred" and could be replaced by another new policy. On the basis of this "theory," he maintained that finance capital could discard annexations, could adopt democracy and peace, could extend the policy of the cartels to foreign policy "in order to attain the joint exploitation of the world by internationally combined finance capital in place of the mutual rivalries of national finance capital," could achieve "a permanent peace" in the stage of "ultra-imperialism." For this reason, Kautsky maintained that the program for socialism lay in propagandizing "peace" and in the struggle to attain peace, but not

in preparing for and realizing proletarian revolution. Kautsky diligently maintained that capitalists can realize the "urge of capital to expand...best, not by the violent methods of imperialism, but by peaceful democracy." He maintained that on the question of attaining peace "everybody is agreed."

Lenin thoroughly smashed this reactionary, false theory of Kautsky. He pointed out that, firstly, Marxists maintain that politics is the concentrated expression of economics; in the era of imperialism, moribund politics is inseparable from moribund economics. In conditions where the world has already been completely divided up like a melon, monopoly finance must engage in a mortal struggle for colonies, must adopt an independent colonial policy in order to ensure their independent realms of investment, markets for sale of commodities, and raw material-producing areas. They are also capable of a final struggle to exploit others. Therefore, on the basis of a moribund capitalist economy, to carry out annexations and to seize world hegemony is the basic policy of imperialism; the basic policy is not a policy that finance capital "prefers." Secondly, viewed from the actual conditions of the development of the capitalist economy, the imperialist alliance, which has completely carved up the world, considers as a basis the general economic, financial, and military strength of the participants in the division; and the strength of these participants does not change to an equal degree. For under the system of finance capital, there is not a reduction, but an increase in the unevenness of the political and economic development of capitalism. Since there emerges a change in the relative strength of imperialists, under the imperialist system there is no road other than that of the use of armed force to solve contradictions. Therefore, the "ultra-imperialist alliances," in the realities of the capitalist system, "...are inevitably nothing more than a 'truce' in periods between wars. Peaceful alliances prepare the ground for war, and in their turn grow out of wars; the one is the condition for the other, giving rise to alternating forms of peaceful and non-peaceful struggle out of one and the same basis of imperialist connections and the relations between world economics and world politics." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXII, page 289). Thirdly, in the view of Marxists, it is necessary to link the struggle to attain peace with the struggle for proletarian revolution and only by completely realizing the socialist revolution will it be possible to attain the permanent peace which is the hope of the proletariat and laboring people. Empty talk of a general peace separated from the socialist revolution is actually only talk of an imperialist peace and such a peace, of course, is helped along by imperialism. To steal and exchange a socialist peace for an imperialist peace is to swindle theory, is to propagate reformism in political practice, is to sidestep socialist revolution. Fourthly, in the view of Marxists, there exists an irreconcilable, antagonistic contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. When, at certain times, the bourgeoisie comes forward with peace, it harms the

proletariat revolution; it uses phrases about peace to lull the proletariat, to protect the capitalist system, and thereby to eternally exploit and oppress the proletariat and the laboring people. The proletariat sincerely prefers peace, but knows that if the socialist revolution is not attained, if imperialism is not eliminated, if the system of private ownership is not destroyed, it will be impossible to attain a real, permanent peace. Therefore, to stress the identity of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat on the question of peace and not to educate the proletariat to prepare and attain a socialist peace is to blur the class struggle of the proletariat and to discard the struggle. Fifthly, Kautsky diligently maintained that capitalists can realize the "urge of capital to expand....best, not by the violent methods of imperialism, but by peaceful democracy." This demonstrates that Kautsky had already sunk to the level of an accomplice of and preacher for the bourgeoisie.

In sum, Kautsky's reactionary theory covers up the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, creates the illusion of bourgeois pacifism and reformism among the working masses, and lure the proletariat away from the revolution. The social pacifism of Kautsky is, in essence, bourgeois pacifism; that is, the illusion that a permanent peace can be attained without smashing the yoke of capitalism. Lenin said, "To have illusions of peace and not to encourage revolutionary activity is to fear war; it has absolutely no place in socialism." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXI, page 170).

Lenin not only criticized the pacific viewpoint in Kautsky's "theory of ultra-imperialism," but also criticized the false pacific theory opposing all wars held by some people in the revolutionary social-democratic parties of certain countries at that time. During the first imperialist world war, some people in the social-democratic parties of certain countries used the slogan of "disarmament" in their party program to oppose all wars. Lenin pointed out that this appeal had not a drop of Marxist flavor, for during the era of imperialism different types of wars arise, and these wars have different characteristics -- those associated with just and unjust wars. Marxists resolutely oppose unjust wars and support just wars. Therefore, "if socialists still consider themselves to be socialists, they cannot oppose all wars." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXIII, page 73).

Lenin pointed out that Marxists do not oppose disarmament; the problem is: When can disarmament be carried out? In all class societies, the exploiting class generally maintain armament. The bourgeoisie uses armed might to suppress the proletariat; this is a most crucial and fundamental fact concerning capitalist society in modern times. To turn away from this fact and raise the slogan of disarmament and to write it into a party program means that the proletariat should oppose the use of arms and be put in the position of facing the enemy, who is armed to the teeth, with empty hands and without a policy. Under capitalist conditions, raising the slogan of "disarmament" is to advocate

"carrying out a completely new type of revolution, an empty-handed one;" (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXIII, page 98) it is the illusion of "peaceful socialism" of "social" eunuchs and opportunists. (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXIII, page 76).

Under conditions in which the bourgeoisie always uses armed might to suppress the revolution, the only feasible strategy for the proletariat is to study how to seize weapons, to attain weapons, and to use armed force to counter armed force. The proletariat is not born with a preference for war; it is compelled to take up arms, and only by raising the revolutionary banner can it free itself from its slave status. "After the proletariat has liquidated capitalist arms, it cannot reject its own historical task and will destroy all weapons. The proletariat undoubtedly will be able to do this, but this will be possible only at that future date and absolutely not before that time." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXIII, page 77).

Lenin pointed out that the slogan of "disarmament" is a manifestation of the petty-bourgeois fear of, and shirking from, war as well as an illusion and an indication of despair concerning the mighty historical universal struggle. It is an idea produced in certain socio-historical circumstance and capable of influencing a certain social stratum. Lenin said, "The petty-bourgeoisie hopes to separate itself a great distance from the great, universal struggles in world history and to use its relatively independent position to preserve a negative, conservative attitude." (Collective Works of Lenin, Volume XXIII, page 83). These are the objective social circumstances in which the idea of disarmament and opposition to all wars is disseminated.

Marxists believe in the theory calling for the elimination of wars, but they cannot do so along the course marked out by social pacifists, for it is only by means of revolutionary struggle that counterrevolutionary wars can be eliminated. "Only after we have overthrown, thoroughly conquered, and deprived of all rights the bourgeoisie in every country in the world will it no longer be possible for there to be wars." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXIII, page 75), and a permanent peace for mankind will arrive.

All Socialist Countries are Carrying Out a Struggle for Peace and Are Opposing an Aggressive Foreign Policy

The October Revolution made it possible for socialism to breach the imperialist front in Russia; this was the first great victory of the international proletariat over the international bourgeoisie. It opened the new era of transition from capitalism to Communism in human society and shook the foundations of international capitalism. In the October Revolution, the international bourgeoisie saw its own end and thus directed bitter hatred toward the Revolution, vigorously attempted to eliminate the newly born socialist state -- the first in the world -- and tried to suppress the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat. Therefore, following the victory of the

October Revolution, and because of the contradiction and struggle between the newly born socialist state and the decadent imperialist states, "a minority of imperialist, national cliques oppressed the soviet movement, opposed the soviet states headed by Soviet Russia," (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXXI, page 210) and the international working class and progressive mankind supported and defended the struggle of Soviet Russia, which became the central content of international world politics. Under these conditions, Lenin incisively analyzed the complex relations between the first socialist state and the entire capitalist world, further developed the theory and strategy of peace and war, and set forth the theory of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, and fixed the foundation for the peaceful foreign policy of socialist states.

The socialist system make it definite that the foreign policy of socialist states is to advocate peace and oppose aggression. Lenin pointed out that the basic aim of the proletarian revolution is to establish a socialist and a Communist society, to eliminate the division of mankind into separate classes, and to eliminate the exploitation of man by man and the exploitation of one nation by another. Therefore, by their very nature it is definite that socialist states cannot carry out a policy of aggression and oppression. He said, "the smallest nation which has no armed forces and regardless of how weak it is, absolutely can and should rest assured that: we have no intentions toward it other than the desire for peace." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXXIII, page 122). At the same time, as for the proletariat, after it has accomplished the basic task of seizing political power, it will strive to carry out various kinds of construction projects. A peaceful international environment is an extremely important condition for the building of socialism and Communism, and by attaining a peaceful international environment and energetically carrying out domestic construction, we will be able rapidly to consolidate and strengthen this "base" of the international socialist revolution. Furthermore, because of the relative superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system, the socialist states do not fear an all-round peaceful economic, political, and cultural competition with capitalist states, and we are confident that in the course of this peaceful competition the superiority and invincibility of the socialist system will be fully demonstrated.

Prior to the end of the first great imperialist world war and at a time when the victory of the October Revolution was still fresh, the Soviet state began its struggle to attain peace. The first foreign policy document of the socialist state was the "Decree on Peace" drafted by Lenin on the second day of the October Revolution. The "Decree on Peace" excoriated the aggressive actions of the imperialist states against weak and small nations and pointed out that "it is a terrible crime against humanity for the rich and powerful states to continue wars as a means of partitioning the small, weak nations they have occupied;" (Collected Works of Lenin, XXVI, page 228) it declared

that the interests and special privileges of the landlords and capitalists of the old Russian era would be discarded as well as the treaties of aggression in which the Great Russians preserved and extended annexed territory; it called on the people of all countries and the governments of imperialist countries, which were mouthing tall-talk of peace and justice, to carry out actual struggle against the cheating conduct connected with aggression. The "Decree on Peace" pointed out that the clearest and firmest demand of the Russian workers and peasants for peace following the overthrow of the Tsarist monarchial system was a peace which would not involve ceding of territory (that is, no occupation of another country's territory and no use of force to re-unite other nationalities) or indemnity payments, and which must be immediately attained. Following this, the Soviet government sent a peace proposal to all belligerent governments. England and France flatly rejected the idea of conducting peace talks. Under extremely adverse conditions prevailing at the time and, in an effort to consolidate the achievements of the revolutionary victory and to build an army capable of defending the country against its enemies, the Soviet government had no option but to sign the "humiliating Brest Litovsk Peace Treaty" with Germany early in 1918 and gain a "temporary breathing spell."

However, as Lenin emphatically stated, temporary breathing spells can always come to an end. He said, "Therefore, at any time in the immediate future, even in a few days, there can develop opposition to the whole socialist movement, and particularly, there can be a new imperialist war of aggression directed against the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXVII, page 106). The basic task of the party therefore is to use the firmest measures to raise the level of worker-peasant discipline, to organize a Red Army, to carry out military training among all the people, and to prepare to defend the socialist fatherland. Facts attest to Lenin's prediction. Not long after the signing of the Brest Litovsk Peace Treaty, the United States, England, France, Germany and Japan -- among a total of 14 countries -- carried out armed intervention against Soviet Russia, brought the temporary breathing spell to an end, and started the first large-scale sacred, defensive war to defend the socialist fatherland in the history of socialist countries.

As a result of the defeat suffered by the imperialist countries following their military intervention, these countries were compelled to conclude a commercial treaty with the socialist state. Lenin said, "This is what always happens: when you beat the enemy, he moves in the direction of peace." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXX, page 124). Peace is attained through bitter struggle.

At the same time, he emphatically noted that peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems does not mean the end of international class struggle, but, under new circumstances, it means the substitution of class struggle in the form of an open military clash by class struggle in the form of peaceful coexistence. In these

circumstances, class struggle become more complex and more profound. Although international imperialism is compelled to accept peaceful co-existence, its imperialist policy and its counterrevolutionary efforts to destroy the socialist states cannot be changed. The imperialists' peace-time policy is no more than a "continuation of their war-time policy." International imperialism adopts all sorts of dark and poisonous measure, such as corrupting the thoughts, internal insurrection, instigation of schisms, incitement of rebellion, etc., in order to pursue its criminal policy of eliminating the socialist states. Following the smashing of imperialist armed intervention by the Soviet state, imperialism intended to use the method of creating a counter-revolutionary armed revolt to overthrow the socialist state. At that time, White Guards and Social Revolutionists organized in Siberia and the Ukraine a counterrevolutionary revolt. In March 1921, Social Revolutionists, Mensheviks, and White Guards under the direction of international imperialism organized a counterrevolutionary uprising at Kronstadt. Lenin said, "At a time when the enemy surrounding us is unable to carry out armed intervention, they hope for revolt. The Kronstadt incident is manifestly connected with international capitalism." In addition, on the diplomatic level, imperialism carried out such measures as isolating and snubbing, economic blockade, fabrication of lies and slander, and the sending of special agents to carry out sabotage against Soviet Russia. They were all smashed by the Soviet state.

Soviet Russia, in the active struggle with international imperialism, bolstered its own base. The consolidation and development of the Soviet state stirred the consciousness of the world's oppressed masses and oppressed nations, stimulated their determination to struggle, solidified their faith in victory, and extended the influence of socialism. International imperialism strenuously attempted to use every means to block the spread of socialism's influence. But, just as Lenin said, "Although these English and French gentlemen of imperialism, using the world's best technology, are able to build this Great Wall around our country, the gems of Bolshevism will pierce this wall and infect the working people of all countries." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXVIII, page 143).

Having redressed the relative balance of power with imperialism, the Soviet state attained an "intermittent period" of peaceful co-existence. However, because of the basic divergence of class interests, a long period of coexistence is unthinkable and in the final analysis, it is necessary to solve the question of who-whom. Lenin said, "As long as capitalism and socialism exist, they cannot coexist peacefully. In the end, if one does not win, the other will; if a funeral dirge is not sung over the Soviet republic, one will be sung over international capitalism. This is a prolonged war. Capitalism will seek a pretext for starting the fight." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXXI, page 416). Peaceful coexistence is conditional, not fixed and eternal. How long peace can be preserved is a matter which cannot be decided by us; it is up to the imperialists. Therefore, Lenin always cautioned

people that simultaneous with implementing domestic construction and taking various steps to promote international peace, we must bend every effort toward military preparedness, strengthening of the national defense forces, and maintaining a high degree of vigilance. He said, "The whole capitalist world is already armed from head to toe and is now choosing the most favorable strategic conditions, studying methods of attack, and waiting for an opportune moment." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXX, page 445). He went on. "Coexistence between the Soviet Republic — which is surrounded by capitalist states -- and these capitalist states is intolerable to capitalism. The capitalists will seize every opportunity to provoke a new war." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXXI, page 429). As long as imperialism exists, wars cannot be eliminated and the socialist states can be subjected to aggression at any time. "Whoever wants to forget this point, forgets our working-people's republic." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXXI, page 471).

Facts fully confirm Lenin's prediction, and, following the armed intervention of imperialism, the imperialists wasted no time in preparing to start a new war against the Soviet Union. From 1925 to 1927, international imperialism carried out a series of provocations and made preparations to initiate armed intervention once again. Subsequent to 1929, the British and American imperialists, as a result of the international economic crisis which had broken out, tried to organize a war against the Soviet Union in seeking a way out of the crisis. British and American imperialism supported and maintained Hitlerite Germany and militarist Japan, and established two war bases, one in Europe and one in Asia, in an attempt to use Germany and Japan as spearheads for the imperialist war against the Soviet Union. During this period, there were continuous military clashes between the Soviet Union and imperialism. In 1929, armed units of China's reactionary warlords attacked the Soviet Union's borders and provoked armed clashes under the direction of international imperialism (particularly, Japanese and American imperialism); from 1935-1936, Japanese imperialism committed aggression against the Mongolian People's Republic in order to establish an anti-Soviet advanced base; in November 1936, Japanese imperialism carried out armed aggression against the Soviet Union in the Lake Hasan region; in 1939, Japanese imperialism carried out aggression against the Mongolian People's Republic, engaging Soviet and Mongolian army units in sharp armed clashes in the Ha-lo-hsin River area; from 1939-1940, Finland, spurred on by imperialism, attacked the Soviet Union.

In June 1941, as a result of Hitlerite Germany's perfidious and disgraceful attack on the Soviet Union, the Soviet people were compelled to suspend temporarily their peaceful construction, raise the banner of struggle against Fascism, and wage a glorious and victorious war against the fascist bandits. The courageous Soviet people and the invincible Red Army under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, united as one, fought bitterly, were tested

in the most brutal war in the history of mankind, and not only defended the socialist fatherland, but also launched a victorious attack pursuing the enemy, joined with the people of East European countries who were locked in struggle, and together liberated a large portion of East Europe which had been trampled under foot by the fascists; they sent troops to China's northeast to aid the Chinese people force Japanese imperialism to surrender; shortly thereafter, victory was attained in the liberation war of the Chinese people and the republic of the people's democratic dictatorship was established. The victory of the Chinese revolution and the successive establishment of socialist states in Europe and Asia formed the international system of socialist states. This increasingly strengthened the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and made more acute its opposition to the imperialist camp headed by the United States which was becoming increasingly rotten. The balance of international forces was thus basically altered — the second greatest victory of Marxism-Leninism after the October Revolution.

Thoroughly Expose the False Peace Plot of Imperialism

The correctness of Lenin's theory on peace and war has again been verified in historical practice. This theory is still our guiding principle for analyzing and treating the question of peace and war.

The new international situation is one in which the East wind is prevailing over the West wind and the forces of peace are very strong. Therefore, there has been a temporary relaxation on the international scene. The socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is the staunchest defender of peace and puts into practice, without change and at all times, Lenin's principle of a peaceful coexistence between different social systems, the socialist states take as their own sacred duty the preservation of world peace and opposition to wars of aggression. The socialist states profoundly believe in the incomparable superiority of the socialist economic system. In the peaceful economic competition between socialism and capitalism, socialism certainly will become increasingly strong and flourishing, while capitalism will certainly become increasingly rotten, and the contradiction between the two will certainly become more and more acute. Moreover, the leaping development of the socialist states inevitably will exert a strong influence on the people in capitalist states and states in colonial areas. From this position, the socialist states in a positive way will advocate peaceful negotiations and mutual contacts with capitalist states, will strive to use peaceful methods rather than warfare to solve international disputes, will strive to conclude agreements on peaceful coexistence or treaties of mutual non-aggression, and so on. This demonstrates that the socialist states have always been loyal to Lenin's principle concerning a peaceful foreign policy.

However, the socialist states fully recognize that the aggressive policy and war policy of imperialist states is in contrast to the peaceful foreign policy of the socialist states.

Lenin taught us that the source of war cannot be eliminated so long as imperialism exists. The 15 years since World War II, which were marked by a continual and unbroken line of imperialist-initiated local wars of aggression, fully attest to the correctness of this thesis of Lenin. The continuous instigation of war by imperialism, and its current moves in intensifying and expanding war preparations are not the result of the good or evil of certain persons; these things are determined by the very nature of moribund capital. Lenin said, "War is created not by individuals, but by international finance capital." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXXVI, page 451). The international situation went through a major change following World War II and the power of imperialism was considerably weakened, but this did not and could not change the nature of moribund capital. To seek moribund high profits had been and still is the basic aim of moribund capitalist production, and the guarantee of this rate of profit is the condition for the existence and development of moribund capitalism, while to seize world hegemony is the basic guarantee for achieving moribund high profits. In the eyes of the moribund-capitalist clique, war is the best "way of business" for achieving moribund high profits and an important technique for seizing world hegemony. Secondly, the change in the balance of forces in the international class struggle following World War II cause a general crisis in capitalism; that is, the all-round crisis which was apparent in politics and economics entered a new, more serious stage. If the period prior to World War II was still one of the relative stabilization of capitalism, the period subsequent to the War was not only one in which this stability was absent, but one in which crisis was continually arising, developing, and deepening. Finally, the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union had already become increasingly superior in prevailing strength; this constituted an extremely great source of encouragement of and support for the international proletariat, working people, and oppressed peoples. National democratic revolutionary movements in the colonies and semi-colonies directed against imperialism mounted in high waves everywhere. All this is hastening imperialism along its stage of decline. Under these conditions, the only way out for imperialism is to bring a renewed effort to bear in its policy of aggression and war. It is thus the source uninterruptedly producing international tension in this post-war period and creating a serious threat to world peace.

The people of various countries who have gone through two world wars urgently demand peace and oppose imperialist wars of aggression. It must be noted, however, that one cannot beg for peace. It can be attained only through serious struggle. In summing up the experiences gained in the international class struggle, Lenin stressed this point, saying, "This is a difficult struggle. Whoever thinks that it is easy to attain peace, that one has only to mention the word peace and the bourgeoisie will present it on a silver platter, is a very naive person." (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume XXVI, page 323).

On the basis of this principle of Lenin, the proletariat and laboring people of the whole world are carrying out a resolute struggle with the imperialist forces of war. The wars and provocations initiated by imperialism in Korea, Indo-china, the Suez Canal, Lebanon, Jordan, and other Asian and South American areas led to a severe setback for the imperialist policy of war only because of opposition by the socialist camp and the international proletariat as well as the firm resistance of people in those areas who carried out wars of national independence. Countless historical precedents tell us that when unjust, counterrevolutionary wars are forced upon us, it is only by raising the banner of just wars, using revolutionary war to fight counterrevolutionary war, and using wars of national independence to counter wars of imperialist aggression that imperialist destruction suffered by the people can be cast away and the peace longed for by the people can be attained.

Because there is a confluence of socialist forces, forces of national independence, and the forces of peace and democracy all forming a flood of power which is united against imperialist wars and because it is a time when imperialism is instigating aggressive wars, if the people resolutely raise the banner of just wars, they will be able to defeat imperialist efforts to start a new world war; imperialism will then not dare to think lightly about starting a third world war.

Under conditions in which the East wind is prevailing over the West wind, and as a result of the unyielding and uncompromising struggle for peace of the people of the whole world, the "positions of strength" and "brink of war" policies of the imperialist cliques headed by the United States have suffered another setback. American imperialism is becoming increasingly isolated politically; it is meeting with more and more difficulties in its economy; it is in an inferior military position. It is therefore compelled to show a few signs of "peace" and mouth lofty songs of "peace." Lenin taught us, "Imperialist wars are a continuation of peace-time policy, and peace is a continuation of war-time policy. Peace, for imperialism, is only an interval between wars; imperialists use this interval actively to expand military preparations for the future time when they will instigate another war." Reality is just like this. American imperialism on the one hand makes a few "peace" gestures and mouths lofty songs of "peace," but at the same time, actively continues its war preparations, strengthens aggressive military cliques, enlarges military bases (the United States has already established more than 250 military bases abroad, and missile bases elsewhere abroad -- and at home -- are rapidly being set up), urgently revives West German and Japanese militarism, continually and uninterruptedly carries out military training and testing of various types of missiles, and uses direct military actions to threaten other countries. It is therefore not difficult for people to see that American imperialism rejects the idea of a genuine peace, but uses the opportunity presented by peace, that is, "peace" and "security," in name only, to carry out preparations for an aggressive

war, in fact; it will then take the interval as a means of recouping its decline in military power. In addition, under the signboard of peace, it will attempt to use such scheming methods as infiltration, corruption, rebellion, provocation, splitting into factions in order to wreck the solidarity of the peace forces, to bring down the socialist camp; it even dreams of so-called "peaceful evolution" and "internal decay" taking place in the socialist countries -- things which might restore capitalism.

It is clear from all this that the basic goal of imperialism, which is to destroy the socialist states and enslave the people of the whole world, has not changed; it merely uses the method of using the signboard "peace and war" in place of "war and peace."

This dual tactic of a false peace and actual preparation for war is becoming more and more visible to all peace loving people in the world and receiving broad recognition. However, the Yugoslav modern revisionists go to great lengths to argue in defense of this tactic. They describe Eisenhower as an "emissary of peace" and praise his Latin American trip, saying it has "eased international tension." This only shows that they are prettifying imperialism, hiding the contradiction between imperialism and the people of the whole world, paralyzing the people of the world, and weakening their struggle against imperialism and for peace.

In order to be of service to the aggressive policy of imperialism, the Yugoslav ruling clique completely discarded Lenin's basic thesis that imperialism is the source of war and stubbornly assert that the source of international tension is the existence of two opposing military blocs. In his 1957 article for the American Foreign Affairs Quarterly -- "On Several Current International Questions" -- Tito even made these remarks: "Stalin's aggressive policies gave rise to doubts and suspicions in the West and led to the organization of the NATO alliance," "Stalin's erroneous foreign policy" was the "source creating tension." It is very clear that these comments completely invert right and wrong, mix up black and white, venomously slander and attack the Soviet Union, and serve imperialism.

The Yugoslav ruling clique uses the fraudulent, reactionary theory of so-called "positive coexistence" as a substitute for Lenin's principles of peaceful coexistence, maintaining that the current international question is not that of socialist revolution, but only the question of "positive coexistence;" they say that "positive coexistence" is the only "foundation on which to build a permanent world peace." This wipes out the distinction of class line between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and of principle between socialist and imperialist states. It denies the class struggle on the international scene, and advocates bourgeois pacifism.

The Yugoslav ruling clique takes over and changes Lenin's principle that all peace must not be unconditionally praised and that all wars must not be unconditionally opposed, and strenuously advocates

the viewpoint of revisionist pacifism. As Tito stated in his New Year's report in 1958, "it is necessary to reject ideas of using violence and war" — such nonsense as this. Tito uses these hypocritical phrases about peace in order to lure the people in capitalist and colonial states into rejecting revolution and in order to enable the capitalist system to be maintained eternally. Not long ago, when the French imperialists used the noose of "peace" to try to strangle the Algerian national war of liberation, the Yugoslav representative urgently advocated cease-fire discussions, saying that "prolongation of the war will bring hardships down on the Algerian people." This kind of talk defends the colonial rule of French imperialism and obstructs the national war of liberation of the Algerian people.

Everywhere the Yugoslav ruling clique spreads the feeling of fear-of-atomic-war. In his New Year's report in 1958, for example, Tito stated that in the atomic era, war presents the danger of "annihilation of mankind" and of "turning the world into a tomb." He used these phrases as an accomplice for the American imperialist policy, which uses threat of atomic war.

Our socialist states are firmly opposed to war. If American imperialism wants to start a war, we absolutely will not be afraid. Nuclear war absolutely cannot destroy all of mankind and it definitely cannot turn the world into a tomb. If the imperialists dare blindly to provoke a third world war, there will then arise the possibility of the entire capitalism system being wiped off the face of the earth and of the entire capitalism system being wiped off the face of the earth and of the attainment of permanent world peace.

We are peace-loving, and as states of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, support the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence; we strive to settle international disputes by the method of negotiations and have raised a series of peaceful proposals. The states of the socialist camp fervently hope for a peaceful international environment for socialist and Communist construction. We are sincerely delighted that there has arisen a certain relaxation on the international scene. It should be pointed out, however, that under its hat of "peace" imperialism is still hiding its active preparations for war. Therefore a high degree of vigilance must be maintained in the face of the plot of false peace and real war-preparations. Imperialism, particularly its chief, American imperialism, is still the deadly enemy of peaceful people of the world. Modern revisionism represented by Yugoslavia is a creature of American imperialist policy and is still the major danger to the international Communist movement. The solidarity of the Chinese and Soviet peoples must be strengthened continually; we must strengthen the solidarity of the people of the states of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union; we must strengthen the solidarity of the peace-loving people of the whole world. It is only with such solidarity and through an absolutely uncompromising struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism that the victory of our cause can be defended reliably.

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The struggle for a permanent world peace is the mighty task of the socialist states, the proletariat, and the laboring people of the whole world. Mankind, in the end, will inevitably reach the era of permanent international peace. Let us hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, support Lenin's principles on peace and war, hold aloft the banner of peace, the banner of proletarian revolution, the banner of socialism and Communism, while victoriously advancing toward our mighty goal!

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